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citizen of the republic ought to hold as dear as "the apple of the eye."

What, then, is to be done with the Philippines? Senator Hoar does not favor turning them back to Spain. Give them, he says, a chance to govern themselves. Give them support, countenance, assistance in working out their own destiny. They are too far away from us and too unlike us to be made a part of us. But we may help them to help themselves. We may even, if necessary, call other civilized and Christian nations into our counsel and invite their coöperation. With this view the people of the nation, when they think, will certainly be largely in accord. It is to be hoped that the Senate also, in whose hands the fateful subject will soon rest, will see it in this light.

Senator Hoar believes that annexation, with the entanglements which it will necessarily bring, in the struggle and scuffle for power in the East, will inevitably result in the necessity of maintaining a navy perhaps *ten times* as great as at the present time, and an army of *hundreds of thousands* in number; that it will require a trained governing class, or caste, for the East; that it will necessitate taking the war power out of the hands of Congress and centralizing it in the President; that it will increase many fold the national debt and make the national taxgatherer the most frequent and the best known visitant to every American house. These things, he says, are all involved in "this wild and impassioned cry for empire." He "disbelieves and hates the notion that the American people are to submit to such a transformation." The "flag does not stand for trade and dominion, but for manhood and self-government." "The doctrines of the Declaration of Independence are eternal verities, not the makeshifts of a generation."

Unless the American people accept this lorty interpretation of American political principle and duty and act in accordance with it, in this hour of gigantic temptation, if, abandoning the foundations on which the national structure has been builded, they are led on by the "wild and impassioned cry for empire," the leadership of America in civilization is gone. She will have no second opportunity. The best that will remain for her will be to struggle slowly and painfully up again with the powers founded on physical force, to whose level of ambition and greed and bloody strife she will have sunk herself.

A Great Loss.

One of the greatest losses occasioned by the war with Spain has been that which the country has met with in the death of George E. Waring, Jr., of New York. For his death may fairly be set down to the account of the war. The circumstances are known to the whole country. Col. Waring was not in the

war. He was, in fact, like so many other intelligent and judicious people, opposed from the start to the whole business. But when he was asked by President McKinley to go to Havana as a special Sanitary Commissioner to report on the health conditions there, he undertook the duty with readiness and devotion. When he came back, after six weeks of careful investigation, with his report practically completed, he was stricken down with yellow fever and died after a few days of sickness.

The whole country has felt the loss greatly. Mr. Waring was the foremost sanitary expert of the nation, and his experience and judgment were being more and more drawn upon from all parts of the land. The story of his turning New York City from one of the filthiest cities in the world into one of the cleanest reads more like romance than reality. At the request of the Business Committee, he told this story, or the part of it relating to the settlement of disputes among the workmen, at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference in June last, and he was often called upon to tell it in other places, which he always did in a modest, simple and yet marvellously impressive way. It might seem extravagant to say that Col. Waring, if he had lived, would have been worth more to the nation in the ten years or so of active service which might reasonably have been expected of him than the entire Philippine islands, if annexed, will be worth in any way in a hundred years. But it would be difficult to show in what respect this seemingly extravagant assertion would be false.

Colonel Waring's work was to save life and not to kill. He took great pleasure in it. He did it intelligently, devotedly and with an executive efficiency rarely known. Though his death has come unexpectedly and prematurely, there is this to rejoice in, that his work was so well done that the memory and the influence of it will never perish out of the nation. We shall always be a cleaner and healthier people because of him. We do not see why his last service is not to be set down as one of the truest and highest heroism, though there has been little noisy display over it as compared with that gotten up in many places in recognition of those whose deeds were bloody and destructive.

Colonel Waring presided, it will be remembered, at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference in June last. Though he had been at one time a soldier and was not a radical peace man, yet his opinion was strong that war is needless and ought to be done away, by the substitution in its place of rational, peaceful methods of adjusting disputes. In one of the brief speeches which he made at the Conference occur these words:

"I am not yet an old man. I was 'brought up,' as we say in my country, in a village in Connecticut, a perfectly simple, law-abiding, rural community.

There was not a boy of the age of fourteen or fifteen in that town who did not either discuss with his friends or feel under his jacket the personal bearings of the questions, 'What should I do if I should ever be challenged to fight a duel?' 'If anybody called you a liar, would you challenge him?' It was a fundamental idea which, I think, was at that time implanted in the minds of all boys. They felt that they could not get out of the moral obligation to fight a duel, if they were called liar or coward. Now, what has become of all that sentiment, not only in Connecticut, but throughout the country, even in Memphis? It has all gone, gone in the direction in which we believe that the idea will go that all troubles between nations must be settled by murder."

The Suffering Doukhobortsi.

We call attention to the circular letter printed on another page and signed by William Dean Howells, William Lloyd Garrison, Rev. George Dana Boardman and others, asking for funds in behalf of the persecuted Doukhobortsi in Russia. Some time ago our columns contained an extended account of the sufferings and hardships inflicted upon the Doukhobortsi,—a Christian, peaceable, industrious people—because of their unwillingness to do military service. Since that time the Russian government has consented to allow them to emigrate from the country at their own expense.

The friends of peace in England, especially the members of the Society of Friends, have interested themselves in the matter and have subscribed large sums of money to assist the Doukhobortsi in emigrating. A considerable body of the sufferers have already reached Cyprus where their support has been provided for, as required by the English government, till the year 1900. But several thousand of them still remain in Russia. They can do nothing for themselves. Two or three years ago their homes were broken up. They were banished from their native province, and carried into the region of the Caucasus, where it was hoped by the Russian officials that they might be forced to give up their Christian belief that war and military service of every kind is wrong. But in spite of distress and imprisonment and exile they have remained faithful, and knowledge of what they are enduring for conscience' sake has gradually made its way throughout the civilized world. A few of them are living in exile in England and are doing all in their power to secure relief for their suffering brethren. Those who have attempted to enable them to get out of Russia hope to get funds enough immediately to bring those who still remain to Cyprus. The purpose is finally to bring as many of them as possible to the United States and Canada and locate them in some of the more thinly settled districts of the West,

where, after being started, they will be amply able to take care of themselves. A generous response to the Committee's call for funds ought to be immediately made. The rigors of the Russian winter have already set in, and there must be great suffering, as during the past two winters, unless help reaches them without delay.

We understand that a movement is on foot to try to secure from the Czar a decree of clemency for these people. He has probably known very little about them. When their condition comes to be fully known to him, it seems impossible that the author of the recent peace manifesto, which has given so much hope to the world, should refuse to revoke all decrees against these good citizens and allow them to remain in their own country and pursue their callings in peace.

The Peace Treaty.

The Commissioners at Paris have practically finished their work. Spain has agreed, under a solemn protest against the course forced upon her, to give up the sovereignty of the Philippines, and to accept for "improvements" in the islands the sum of twenty million dollars. Cuba and Porto Rico she had already surrendered, in the protocol, and also an island in the Ladrone group. There are some minor items of the treaty touching the Carolines, cable and coaling stations and an "open door" policy in the Philippines. By the time this reaches our readers, the treaty, momentous beyond any of modern times, will have been formally prepared and signed; and the Commissioners will be on their way home.

It was a foregone conclusion what the treaty in the main would be. All that has been done in two months of demanding and yielding might have been done, as we said in the beginning, in a few days at Washington without any commission. The United States government has done what it started out to do. Spain has had no choice; the negotiations have been simply a slow way of getting an ultimatum accepted by her. She has been helpless and our government has told her that the only possible interpretation of the protocol was what we wanted it to mean.

The judgment of all Europe outside of England, and, if the truth were known, in a good deal of England, is that the United States has pushed her advantage to the extreme and shown no regard for generosity. The knowledge in Europe of the powerful imperialistic sentiment prevailing in this country strengthens the conviction that our government in its severe demands upon Spain has proceeded as a self-seeking conqueror rather than as a brother in the family of nations. Our "humanitarian" war is, from its actual results so far, being interpreted not unjustly as really a war of conquest and national